

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.366
16 February 1968
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COLLECTION

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIXTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Friday, 16 February 1968, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. A. CARRANCO AVILA (Mexico)

GE.68-2916
68-06051

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. J.A. de ARAUJO CASTRO
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA
Mr. E. MOREIRA HOSANNAH
Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV

Burma:

U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS
Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL
Mr. J.R. MORDEN
Mr. A. BERNIER

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. V. VAJNAR
Mr. K. STRASIK

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. N. KRISHNAN
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI
Mr. E. FRANCO
Mr. F. SORO
Mr. R. BERLENGHI

Mexico:

Mr. A. CARRANCO AVILA

Nigeria:

Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI
Mr. S. DABROWA

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO
Mr. O. IONESCO
Mr. C. GEORGESCO
Mr. A. COROIANU

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL
Mr. A. EDELSTAM
Mr. J. PRAWITZ

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A. A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. O.A. GRINEVSKY
Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV
Mr. V.B. TOULINOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF
Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Mr. I.F. PORTER
Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. S. DePALMA
Mr. L.D. WEILER
Mr. C.G. BREAM
Mr. A.F. NEIDLE

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

1. The CHAIRMAN (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): I declare open the 366th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

2. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The great scientific discoveries of our time in the field of nuclear physics have opened up vast prospects of using the forces of nature for the benefit of mankind. At the same time these discoveries have been the origin of the most devastating weapon of mass destruction: namely, the nuclear weapon, which represents in the event of its use a threat to all countries, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear. That is why the most important task in regard to ensuring the security of the peoples is to eliminate the threat of nuclear war through the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the complete prohibition and abolition of such weapons. The importance of this task is as great as the difficulties involved in accomplishing it. But whatever the difficulties, there must be no giving up of efforts to ensure for the peoples the possibility of availing themselves of all the benefits connected with the use of nuclear energy in conditions of peace and security, precluding the possibility of nuclear war or any war at all.

3. An important step in precisely that direction would be the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This step, as we have repeatedly emphasized, though not a panacea against the threat of nuclear war, would nevertheless be an advance towards the ensuring of security and at the same time towards more extensive possibilities of using nuclear energy for the benefit of mankind.

4. The discussion here in the Committee of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons shows that two questions connected with the draft treaty on non-proliferation (ENDC/192/Rev.1; 193/Rev.1) are attracting the greatest attention of the members of the Committee: namely the ways and means of slowing the arms race and the achievement of disarmament as a result of the conclusion of a treaty of this type as well as the possibilities of widening the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and obtaining as many other benefits as possible from the peaceful use of the atom.

5. It was to the first question in connexion with the treaty and the link between this treaty and subsequent disarmament measures that we devoted our statement in the Committee on 1 February, in which we pointed out that the solution of the problem of non-proliferation should serve as a starting-point for the solution of other problems in the field of nuclear and general disarmament (ENDC/PV.361, para. 17).

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In our statement today we should like to put forward our considerations concerning the prospects connected with the conclusion of such a treaty in regard to widening the peaceful uses of the atom and international co-operation in this field. Turning to the subject of the peaceful use of nuclear energy within the context of the non-proliferation treaty, it is necessary to emphasize that this agreement provides for the limitation or prohibition only of those specific types of activities of States in the field of the use of atomic energy which are related to the manufacture, transfer or acquisition of nuclear weapons; that is to say, in the military field. Articles I and II of the draft treaty on non-proliferation, which mention what is prohibited by the treaty, relate exclusively to the question of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices, and contain no obligations that could hamper or restrict the activities of States in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

The draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is designed to create the most favourable conditions to enable non-nuclear-weapon States to enjoy the benefits of the peaceful use of the atom. The treaty contains very definite provisions to that effect. These provisions in respect of ensuring the conditions for the peaceful use of nuclear energy are contained in article IV, which specifically refers to the right of parties to the treaty to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to participate in a broad international exchange of scientific and technical information in this field.

Alongside these provisions, corresponding provisions in the preamble to the treaty confirm the principle that the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear technology which may be derived by nuclear-weapon States from the development of nuclear explosive devices should be available to all States parties to the treaty, and that these States are entitled to participate in the fullest possible exchange of scientific information for, and to contribute alone or in co-operation with other states to, the further development of the applications of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The provisions of the treaty concerning the obligations and rights of parties to the treaty in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy, and in particular article IV, correspond to the wishes expressed by non-nuclear States during the discussion which have taken place in the Committee. Allow me to refer in this

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connexion to certain statements. Thus at the Committee's previous session the representative of Mexico, Mr. Castañeda, mentioned on 19 September 1967 how important it was --

"... to establish the legal obligation of the nuclear Powers -- the most advanced countries -- to contribute to the technological development of the others, and to transfer and place at the disposal of those countries their scientific and technical knowledge of the peaceful use of nuclear energy." (ENDC/PV.331, para. 8).

The representative of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Khallaf, supporting the representative of Mexico, expressed similar views on 26 September (ENDC/PV.333, para.20). We note with satisfaction that the statements made by the representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Zelleke, on 13 February (ENDC/PV.364, para.45) and by the representative of Mexico, Mr. Gomez Robledo, yesterday (ENDC/PV.365, para.3) contained a favourable evaluation of article IV of the complete draft treaty. They emphasized that this article takes into account the wishes expressed previously by many representatives of non-nuclear States.

10. In this article it is stated, in particular, that parties to the treaty in a position to do so shall --

"... co-operate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty."

The purport of this provision is that States which have achieved the highest level of development in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and in the first place the nuclear Powers, shall contribute to the development of the peaceful atomic activities of non-nuclear-weapon States. Thus the non-proliferation treaty contains clear-cut provisions confirming the inalienable right of States to unimpeded development in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy.

11. Some delegations here in the Committee have raised the question whether other provisions of the treaty, and specifically those concerning control, might not hamper the economic or technological development of States parties to the treaty in regard to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Will not this control be tantamount in some way to interference in the internal affairs of States? That was in particular the meaning of certain questions raised by the representative of Romania, Mr. Ecobesco, at the meeting of the Committee on 6 February (ENDC/PV.362, para.14).

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12. The system of control provided for in the draft treaty will in no way prevent non-nuclear countries from developing their peaceful atomic activities and will not be a means of interference in the internal affairs of States. Under the draft treaty, control has only one purpose: namely to prevent diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to the manufacture of nuclear weapons. This is stated in article III, paragraph 1. In paragraph 3 of this article it is directly stipulated that the safeguards shall be implemented in such a way as to avoid hampering the economic or technological development of parties to the treaty or international co-operation in the field of peaceful nuclear activities. In this connexion, reference must also be made to article IV of the draft treaty on non-proliferation, which states -- and I venture once again to quote the text of this provision:

"Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of this Treaty."

13. Thus there are no grounds for the conclusion that the non-proliferation treaty will create obstacles to the peaceful use of atomic energy as a result of the application of control. In this connexion reference may also be made to the experience already gained in applying the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), since it is precisely safeguards of this kind that are concerned in the draft non-proliferation treaty. We note with satisfaction that the functioning of the IAEA control system has not created any obstacles or difficulties for any country in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy. We know that there are at present 120 installations in 27 countries under IAEA safeguards. No complaints have come from any of these countries about any obstacles on the part of IAEA to the development of their peaceful atomic activities. The members of our Committee are apparently already acquainted with the positive experience obtained in the application of IAEA safeguards, because all of them represent States which are members of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

14. Closely connected with the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes is the problem of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. It is quite natural that the non-nuclear countries, as a result of signing the non-proliferation treaty -- that is, as a result of becoming parties to this treaty -- should have no desire to create any complications for themselves in the future in regard to utilizing the benefits to

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be derived from the carrying out of such peaceful nuclear explosions. In the statements made by the representatives of some States, in particular in the statement made by the representative of Brazil in our Committee, Mr. de Araujo Castro, and his predecessor, fears have been expressed that the non-nuclear countries will not be able independently to carry out nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Thus at our meeting of 8 February Mr. de Araujo Castro expressed the view that the provisions of articles IV and V of the complete draft treaty on non-proliferation would divide the world into two categories of countries, and that in one category would be those which would be "technologically dependent" on the others in regard to the carrying out of peaceful nuclear explosions (ENDC/PV.363, para.56).

15. The Soviet delegation has already repeatedly stated its point of view in connexion with the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes as it appears in the light of the provisions of articles IV and V of the treaty. Our explanations concerning the substance of the question are contained in the statements we made at the 325th and 357th meetings of the Committee. In our statement today we should like once again to emphasize that the approach to the problem of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, on which the relevant articles of the draft treaty are based, is determined by the fact that the nuclear devices for such explosions essentially in no way differ -- and nobody has refuted this -- from nuclear weapons or from explosions for military purposes. In proposing to prevent the proliferation of such devices, we are endeavouring to carry out exactly the stipulation of General Assembly resolution 2028(XX) (ENDC/161), to which many members of the Committee have repeatedly referred in their statements, that all loopholes for the proliferation of nuclear weapons should be closed.

16. We should like to emphasize that the provisions contained in the draft treaty create the conditions for the broadest and most favourable economic use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes by non-nuclear countries. Through appropriate international procedures all countries which are parties to the non-proliferation treaty will be able to carry out such nuclear explosions. It follows that the potential benefits from the carrying out of such explosions will be available on extremely advantageous and favourable terms to the parties to the treaty. This important provision of the draft treaty should not be underestimated when analysing the problem of the peaceful use of nuclear energy in connexion with the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

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17. We must also point out the considerable economic advantage that the non-nuclear countries parties to the treaty will gain by having renounced the independent carrying-out of peaceful nuclear explosions. They will not have to expend vast material and human resources on research and on the creation of the appropriate nuclear explosive devices. The conditions governing the carrying out of peaceful nuclear explosions for non-nuclear countries, as provided for in article V of the treaty, will enable these countries to utilize in a rational way the resources thus saved, which, in any particular State not a party to the non-proliferation treaty, would be allocated to the implementation of its exceedingly costly projects connected with such explosions.

18. The Soviet delegation has repeatedly stated that renunciation by the non-nuclear countries of military forms of the use of atomic energy will stimulate the development of extensive international co-operation in the field of scientific research and the peaceful use of nuclear energy. As we know, this co-operation began in the relatively recent past: its history is hardly more than ten years old. It is being carried out both on the basis of bilateral agreements and through various international organizations, and above all through the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

19. At present it is, in practice, extremely difficult and onerous to assimilate the achievements of world physical science and to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes exclusively within a national framework without having recourse to international co-operation. International co-operation in this field is assuming ever greater importance for the economic development of all or at least of a great many countries of the world. How important for non-nuclear States is the exchange of information with the scientists of other countries and particularly the nuclear Powers has been shown by the international conferences on the peaceful uses of atomic energy which have been held under United Nations auspices here in Geneva and which provided clear evidence of the development of international co-operation in the field of nuclear science and technology.

20. In this connexion we would also refer to the important role now played by the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has about a hundred member States, in the exchange of information and in assistance to the developing countries. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to its participation in the activities of IAEA. For a number of years the Soviet Union has been successfully co-operating with many countries in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy, providing extensive technical assistance for them and helping them in the training of national qualified personnel,

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With the participation of the Soviet Union, atomic reactors and power stations have been or are being built in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, the United Arab Republic, Iran, Indonesia and other countries. Work is being completed on the construction of two radiological centres in Morocco and Pakistan, which have been transferred by the Soviet Union to IAEA in pursuance of the policy of rendering technical assistance to developing countries. Every year the Soviet Union allocates substantial sums to the technical assistance fund of IAEA for the rendering of technical assistance and the training of key personnel for the developing countries members of IAEA.

21. Contacts between Soviet scientists and the scientists of many other countries are being successfully expanded on the basis of appropriate agreements. As is well known, an agreement for co-operation was recently concluded between the Soviet Union and the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN). And a few days ago, on 12 February, an agreement on co-operation in regard to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes was concluded between the USSR State Committee on the utilization of atomic energy and the Swedish Royal Academy of Engineering. Such agreements exist between the USSR and many other countries. The Soviet Union intends to continue its efforts towards the development of broad and efficient co-operation in the nuclear field with many countries of the world, basing itself on the achievements of its science and technology.

22. The treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons will undoubtedly create the most favourable conditions and will to some extent be a stimulus to an even wider exchange in the various fields of nuclear science and technology. The conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty will contribute to the strengthening of confidence between States, and consequently will create a better and even more favourable atmosphere for the extension of co-operation between States. It cannot be overlooked that confidence is an important factor in respect of international co-operation in the exchange of scientific information in the nuclear field and in regard to the peaceful use of nuclear energy as a whole.

23. The conclusion of the treaty will also enhance the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which will not only exercise control over the activities of nuclear States in connexion with the non-proliferation treaty but will have wider links with them, which will enable it to obtain a better knowledge of their needs, interests and requirements, and also of the situation in regard to the peaceful use of

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nuclear energy as a whole and of the possibilities existing in that field. All this will make it possible to take further and even more effective steps to deepen, widen and make more specific the forms of co-operation between States in the peaceful use of nuclear energy and in rendering assistance in this field to many countries, including the developing and other non-nuclear States.

24. It is quite natural that States not parties to the non-proliferation treaty will not find themselves in so favourable a position from the point of view of participating in the international exchange of information and in other forms of international co-operation, since they will not be able to avail themselves of the opportunities which will be open to the parties to the non-proliferation treaty. It is natural that those who adopt a positive attitude towards the treaty and become parties to it will enjoy a greater degree of confidence in the development of co-operation in the nuclear field, in the field of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

25. All of us are well aware that the concern about the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons arises not only from our knowledge of the disastrous consequences of the use of these weapons and the understanding of the threat to the whole world connected with an increase in the number of States possessing nuclear weapons. Another source of this concern is the realization that the manufacture of nuclear weapons requires vast material resources which could be successfully used for the promotion of the social and economic advancement of the peoples.

26. The report which the experts of twelve countries submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the consequences of the use and the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to which we referred in our statement of 1 February (ENDC/PV.361, paras.18, 19) provides many examples which clearly and convincingly show the colossal expenditure which a State would incur by taking the path of nuclear armament. The report, for example, quotes estimates by the experts of the Polish People's Republic according to which a ten-year programme costing \$5,600 million would be required for the creation of a small effective nuclear force (A/6858, para.68). Such a programme would withdraw hundreds of highly-qualified scientific experts and engineers from peaceful production. One cannot but agree with the view expressed in the experts' report that --

"To understand the economic implications of embarking on the development of a nuclear armoury it is necessary to become clear about the volume and kind of resources such a step demands. The evaluation needs to be in terms not only of the physical and financial resources absorbed but of the opportunities forgone through devoting these resources to destructive weapons." (ibid., para.44)

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27. The conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons will enable these vast resources to be saved for peaceful development, for the economic and social advancement of States. Thus this agreement will be beneficial not only from the point of view of strengthening international security, but it will also yield direct material advantages to many States, in the first place to the parties to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

28. Those are some of our considerations concerning the question of the peaceful use of nuclear energy in connexion with the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The Conference decided to issue the following communique:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 366th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of Mr. Alvaro Carranco Avila, representative of Mexico.

"A statement was made by the representative of the Soviet Union.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 20 February 1968, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.